

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 164777 TOSEC 060154

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SUBJECT: MILWAUKEE SPEECH

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. THE SPEECH IN MY OPINION IS IN VERY GOOD SHAPE; THE
STRUCTURE IS GOOD, THE LANGUAGE IS TIGHT AND FLOWS WELL.
GIVEN THE DIFFICULTY OF CATCHING UP WITH YOU WHEREVER YOU
MAY NOW BE, I HAVE RESTRICTED MYSELF TO VERY LIGHT EDITING.
WE WILL TRANSMIT ONLY THOSE PARAGRAPHS WHICH I HAVE
CHANGED, NUMBERING THEM SO THAT YOU CAN TELL WHICH PARA-
GRAPHS THEY ARE.

2. BEGIN TEXT

11.OUR VERY SUCCESSES HAVE BROUGHT GREAT CHANGE AND WITH IT
THE POTENTIAL FOR GREAT CREATION. THE OLD COLD WAR CON-
STELLATION HAS FRAGMENTED,A NEW DIFFUSION OF POWER AND
WEALTH, IDEOLOGY AND PURPOSE HAS TRANSFORMED THE INTER-
NATIONAL SCENE. THE REEMERGENCE OF EUROPE AND JAPAN,
RIVALRY AMONG THE COMMUNIST POWERS, THE GROWTH OF MILITARY
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TECHNOLOGIES, THE RISE AND INCREASING DIVERSITY OF THE
DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE SHAPED A NEW INTERNATIONAL ENVIRON-
MENT. TODAY WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF MULTIPLE CENTERS OF
POWER, OF IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BOTH OLD AND NEW -- A
WORLD CLOUDED BY NUCLEAR PERIL AND MARKED BY NEW ECONOMIC

AND SOCIAL IMPERATIVES ON A GLOBAL SCALE.

25. IN OUR APPROACH TO THE WORLD, OUR FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WITH WHOM WE SHARE TIES OF HISTORY, COMMERCE AND POLITICAL VALUES. OUR ALLIANCES REMAIN THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR TIES WITH OUR ATLANTIC PARTNERS AND JAPAN AND HAVE BEGUN A NEW DIALOGUE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. OUR ALLIANCES WERE FORMED AS A RESPONSE TO A MILITARY THREAT. TODAY ANOTHER COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS IS EVIDENT ACROSS A BROAD RANGE OF OTHER ENDEAVORS, SUCH AS ENERGY, ECONOMIC GROWTH, OUR TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEM, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION, PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES. THUS, IMPORTANT AS THE NEED FOR MUTUAL SECURITY CONTINUES TO BE, OUR ALLIANCES HAVE FOUND A NEW MEANING AS WELL IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY'S CHALLENGES.

26. THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF OUR ALLIANCES HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO SEEK TO MITIGATE THE WORLD'S DIVISIONS. THE TASK OF THIS GENERATION, INDEED ONE OF THE CENTRAL TASKS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, IS TO ACHIEVE A MORE PEACEFUL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNLESS THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES CONDUCT THEMSELVES WITH RESTRAINT; THERE IS NO HOPE OF A BETTER WORLD UNLESS THEY USE THEIR ENORMOUS POWER FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND.

28. WE HAVE, AS WELL, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, MOVED TO FORGE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA. STABILITY IN ASIA AND PEACE IN THE WORLD REQUIRE A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE-QUARTER OF THE HUMAN RACE. PRESIDENT FORD WILL VISIT CHINA LATER THIS YEAR TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMON GOALS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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WORK FOR THE CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT OF OUR RELATIONS.

29. BUT WE HAVE NOT BECOME NEUTRAL IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND TYRANNY. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH COUNTRIES WHOSE IDEOLOGY AND VALUES, AND NATIONAL INTERESTS CONFLICT WITH OUR OWN. BUT WE OWE OUR PEOPLE AND MANKIND AN UNTIRING EFFORT TO AVOID NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST AND FOSTER GENUINE SECURITY. MILITANT RHETORIC IS A POSE, NOT A FOREIGN POLICY. IF CONFRONTATION PROVES UNAVOIDABLE IN THE END, AMERICANS MUST KNOW THAT IT WAS ADOPTED AS A LAST RESORT.

30. THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IS A

TWO-WAY STREET. YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL ALWAYS INSIST ON STRICT RECIPROCITY. IT WILL NOT PERMIT DETENTE TO BE USED FOR BLACKMAIL OR PRESSURE, OR AS A COVER FOR SELECTIVE EXPLOITATION OF OPPORTUNITIES. BUT, FOR THE SAKE OF FUTURE GENERATIONS, NEITHER WILL WE FLAG IN OUR PURSUIT OF PEACE.

31. FINALLY, THERE IS THE NEW AGENDA OF INTERNATIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE -- ENERGY, RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT, POPULATION, THE USES OF SPACE AND THE SEAS. THESE ARE PROBLEMS THAT CROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES -- PROBLEMS FOR WHICH NO SOLUTIONS ARE CONCEIVABLE WITHOUT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THEY CONTAIN THE SEEDS OF POLITICAL CONFLICT OVER THE COMING GENERATION; THEY ALSO PRESENT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH A CHALLENGE TO ITS CAPACITIES FOR VISION AND STATESMANSHIP.

32. THIS IS WHY I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT ESPECIALLY ABOUT THOSE PROBLEMS THAT ARE GLOBAL IN NATURE AND MUST BE DEALT WITH ON A GLOBAL BASIS. WITHIN A FEW MONTHS' TIME THERE WILL BE TWO MAJOR MEETINGS OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN EARLY SEPTEMBER DEVOTED TO THE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO DEVELOPING NATIONS, AND THE 30TH REGULAR SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL AGAIN ADDRESS THE BROAD RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. AND SO I WANT TO USE THIS OCCA-

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SION TO PUT BEFORE YOU AND THROUGH YOU TO THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CANDID VIEWS OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THAT ORGANIZATION AS WELL AS THE OPPORTUNITY IT CONFRONTS.

38. -- IT IS NOT THE PANACEA AND CURE-ALL WHICH ITS ZEALOTS CLAIMED IT TO BE. IT REFLECTS THE WORLD CONTEXT IN WHICH IT OPERATES: ITS COMPLEXITY, ITS DIVERSITY, ITS IMPERFECTIONS, ITS MULTIPOLARITY;

39. -- AND ABOVE ALL IT IS NOT AN ENTITY APART FROM ITS MEMBERSHIP. ITS FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES ARE A REFLECTION OF NATIONAL ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS, FOR IT IS AN ORGANIZATION IN WHICH EACH COUNTRY PURSUES ITS NATIONAL INTEREST.

40. ITS VERY EXISTENCE -- AND WE MUST RECALL THAT ITS PREDECESSOR, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, SURVIVED ONLY 17 YEARS. WHILE THE UN HAS ALREADY REACHED THE MATURE AGE OF 30 -- REFLECTS AT LEAST A MINIMAL COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE. BUT IT ALSO IMPOSES IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES.

41. THE UN WAS BORN IN THE GLOW OF VICTORY, AND OUT OF

THE BELIEF THAT THE MAJOR POWERS WOULD CONCERT TOGETHER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO KEEP THE PEACE. IT HAS PERFORMED IMPORTANT, SOMETIMES VITAL SERVICES FOR THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

42. -- IT HAS SURVIVED, BUFFETED THOUGH IT HAS BEEN BY THE COLD WAR,

43 -- IT HAS HELPED NATIONS TO ACCOMMODATE TO THE NEW ERA OF OUTER SPACE,

44 -- IT HAS ADJUSTED TO THE NEW AND AWESOME CHALLENGES OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY AND THE COMMUNICATIONS EXPLOSION,

45 -- IT HAS MOVED FROM BIPOLAIRTY TO MULTIPOLARITY,

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49. IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE WORK OF THE UN HAS BEEN MOST SUCCESSFUL AND YET MOST UNHERALDED. ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEARLY EVERY MAJOR AREA OF CONCERN TODAY: ASSISTANCE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO COMBAT HUNGER AND DISEASE, PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT, LIMITING POPULATION GROWTH, PROMOTING AIR SAFETY AND PREVENTING AIR HIJACKING, PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW OVER THE OCEANS AND OUTER SPACE, AND PROTECTING THE PRICELESS CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MANKIND.

51. BUT THIS HAS NOT DESTROYED THE UN. FAR FROM IT. AS THE GREAT POWERS HAVE LEARNED THE PRACTICES OF COEXISTENCE AND ACCOMMODATION, THE UN HAS FOUND RENEWED POSSIBILITIES FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION.

52. WHAT CONCERNS AMERICANS TODAY IS THAT, PRECISELY AT THE MOMENT WHEN GREAT POWER POLITICS HAD SEEMED TO BE MOVING IN DIRECTIONS MORE CONSISTENT WITH THE EARLY HOPES FOR THE UN, A NEW PHENOMENON APPEARED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SOME OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES -- A NEW PATTERN OF BLOC VOTING, AND NEW ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACHIEVE UNILATERAL POLITICAL ENDS.

57. AN EQUALLY DEPLORABLE DEVELOPMENT IS THE TREND IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WHICH HAS POLITICIZED THE

DECISIONS OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND DEFLECTED THEIR IMPORTANT WORK: THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, WHICH FOR YEARS HAS FOUGHT TO PRESERVE A FREE LABOR

MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD; THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAS BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN ERADICATING DISEASE IN FAR FLUNG AREAS OF THE WORLD; THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE, WHICH HAS PROMOTED THE ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY; THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAS BEEN PROMOTING
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STANDARDIZED AIR PRACTICES; THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAS BEEN SEEKING TO IMPROVE WEATHER PREDICTION; THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAS BEEN SO INSTRUMENTAL IN ATTACKING THE PROBLEMS OF FOOD SHORTAGES AND PRODUCTION. ALL THESE ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NOW BECOME THE FOCUS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLES WHICH CAN ONLY HARM THE WORK THEY DO AND THEREFORE THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE THEY SERVE.

59. OUR CONCERN HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRACTICES OR POLICIES OF THE PARTICULAR GOVERNMENTS IN QUESTION. BUT IF THE ORGANIZATION BEGINS TO DEPART FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ITS CHARTER, WHERE SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION ARE CLEARLY SPECIFIED AS PREROGATIVES OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, EVENTUALLY THE INTEGRITY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS OF THE SPECIALIZED INSTITUTIONS WILL BE DESTROYED. WHEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FAILED TO ACHIEVE UNIVERSALITY OF MEMBERSHIP ITS DOOM WAS ASSURED. IF THE UN NOW LOSES ITS UNIVERSALITY ITS DOOM, TOO, IS ASSURED AND THOSE WHO SEEK TO REMAKE THE INSTITUTION IN THEIR OWN IMAGE WILL INHERIT AN EMPTY SHELL.

60. THE UNITED NATIONS WAS MEANT AS A VEHICLE FOR FOSTERING COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS. IT IS NO SERVICE TO THE IDEA OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND NO CONTRIBUTION TO ITS FUTURE, TO GLOSS OVER ITS MISUSE. NOR CAN THE UNITED STATES STAND BY PASSIVELY WHILE IDEALS WHICH WE BELIEVE IN ARE THWARTED, AND WHILE AN INSTITUTION INTO WHICH WE HAVE PUT SO MUCH FAITH AND SUBSTANCE IS SUBJECTED TO PRESSURES NOT FORESEEN BY ITS FOUNDERS.

61. WE WILL OPPOSE THESE TENDENCIES WITH ALL OF OUR STRENGTH BECAUSE THEY WILL EVENTUALLY UNDERMINE IRREPARABLY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ASSEMBLY AND THE UN AS A WHOLE.

71. DELETE

79. THUS IT IS IMPERATIVE TO CONTAIN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN TRANSLATING THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO IN VLADIVOSTOK BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV
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INTO A NEW ACCORD BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION THAT WILL, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, PLACE A LONG-TERM CEILING ON THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF BOTH SIDES.

81. THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY OF 1970 HAS BEEN A MAJOR STEP IN OUR EFFECT TO CONTROL THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

82. (CONTINUE AS PARAGRAPH 81) BUT A COMPREHENSIVE NON-PROLIFERATION STRATEGY ALSO REQUIRES STRENGTHENED SAFEGUARDS ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS. THE RECENT OIL CRISIS ADDS FRESH URGENCY TO THIS TASK, FOR IT HAS MADE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY ESSENTIAL FOR AN INCREASING NUMBER OF NATIONS. THIS MEANS WIDER AVAILABILITY OF MATERIALS SUCH AS PLUTONIUM, AND EQUIPMENT WHICH MIGHT BE USED TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. THUS ALL INDUSTRIAL NATIONS SHARE A GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY TO STRENGTHEN SAFEGUARDS ON THE EXPORT OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS. FUTURE GENERATIONS WOULD NEVER FORGIVE US IF COMMERCIAL COMPETITION CREATED THE CONDITIONS FOR NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

83. THE UNITED STATES IS NOW ENGAGED IN CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER NUCLEAR EXPORTING COUNTRIES LOOKING TOWARD WAYS TO ENSURE BETTER SAFEGUARDS. IN THIS TASK, THE WORK OF THE UN'S INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY IS VITAL. TO PREPARE FOR THE ANTICIPATED GROWTH IN THE SIZE AND COMPLEXITY OF WORLDWIDE NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAMS, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES IT CRUCIAL THAT BOTH SUPPLIER AND USER NATIONS COOPERATE TO STANDARDIZE AND STRENGTHEN COMMON EXPORT REQUIREMENTS AND TO SUPPORT IAEA SAFEGUARDS. THIS UN AGENCY CAN BE THE FOUNDATION FOR AN EFFECTIVE WORLD SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM CAPABLE OF MINIMIZING NUCLEAR RISKS WHILE FOSTERING THE APPLICATIONS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY. IN THIS AREA THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FACES ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL TESTS OF THIS GENERATION.

85. -- NATIONS HAVE SUFFERED BOTH SEVERE INFLATION AND DEEP RECESSION ON AN UNPRECEDENTLY WIDE SCALE.
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87. -- THE PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, ONCE AN UNQUESTIONED GOAL, NOW FACES NEW CONSTRAINTS, SUCH AS THE NEED TO PRESERVE AND IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

100. RATHER IT IS, LIKE SO MANY HUMAN INSTITUTIONS BEFORE IT, AN IMPERFECT INSTRUMENT -- BUT ONE OF GREAT HOPE NONETHELESS. IF THE WORLD ORGANIZATION IS TO

FULFILL ITS PROMISE, IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS TO HAVE ANY REALISTIC HOPE, THEN CLEARLY THE DAY THAT DAG HAMMERSKJOLD FORESAW MUST SOON COME.

102. BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALONE. FOR THREE DECADES NOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BORNE, IN ADDITION TO THE HEAVY BURDENS OF A VAST BILATERAL AID PROGRAM THE LION'S SHARE OF THE COSTS OF THE UN; THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE PRACTICE SO LONG -- BUT ONLY SO LONG -- AS THE INSTITUTION CONTINUES TO SERVE ITS ORIGINAL GOALS OF GLOBAL PEACE AND CONCILIATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CHARTER.

104. BUT IF WE HAVE LEARNED NOTHING ELSE IN THE COURSE OF THE PAST DECADE, WE HAVE SURELY SEEN THAT -- STRONG AND PROSPEROUS AS WE ARE -- OTHERS MUST BE PREPARED TO DO THEIR PART IN BUILDING THE BETTER WORLD WE ALL SEEK FOR THE GENERATIONS THAT WILL COME AFTER US. THE PLACE TO BEGIN IS IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS THERE THAT EACH NATION, LARGE OR SMALL, RICH OR POOR, CAN -- IF IT WILL -- MAKE USE OF ITS PARTICULAR GENIUS FOR THE BETTERMENT OF ALL. IT IS THERE THAT NATIONS MUST REALIZE THAT SELF-RESTRAINT IS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT FOR ACHIEVING ENDURING MUTUAL BENEFIT. IT IS THERE THAT WE CAN ALL WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE WORLD PEACE AND PROSPERITY A REALITY, AND PERHAPS, IN THE END, TURN THE PARLIAMENT OF MAN INTO A TRUE EXPRESSION OF THE CONSCIENCE OF HUMANITY. END TEXT INGERSOLL

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